

Dear H. C. Wright

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.—  
From the New-York Journal of Commerce.

POLITICAL ABOLITION.

It has been guessed by some, that the unexpected majority against Vance in Ohio was occasioned by the withholding of the votes of the Abolitionists, or by their being given to his opponent, from dissatisfaction at his course in suspending Rev. Mr. Mahan, an abolition clergyman of Brown County, to the Governor of Kentucky, as a charge of kidnapping. We apprehend there is very little foundation for this suspicion.

I. It appears that while in the State at large, there was a great gain to the party opposing the nomination of Vance, the gain in Brown County, which the excitement would naturally be the cause of, was 41 in Vance's favor.

In those parts of the State where there is the most Abolition, Vance fared quite as well as in the State at large. In Cuyahoga County, of which Cleveland is the capital, he gained 133, in Ashtabula County 130, in Trumbull 103, in Huron 34, in Portage 320.

3. As to the Abolitionists withholding their votes, The Ohio State Journal publishes full returns for Governor from thirty-nine counties, and appears that they gave Vance two years, this year 55, 209,—increase, 231. The same Counties two years ago gave Baldwin, the Van Buren candidate for Governor, 46,551; this year Shannon 36,781,—increase, 9,939. Total increase of votes in thirty-three Counties, 12,154.

4. If the Abolitionists defeated the election of Vance, it might be expected that other Whig candidates would have fared better. But from the annexed table of votes in ten Counties, which are sufficient for a specimen, it appears that the Whig vote for Congress-men was 187 less than for Vance, while for Representatives it was 101 more, in an aggregate of over 17,000.

Neglecting all the lecturing and trumpery of the Abolitionists, we have never been able to perceive the influence of their votes in a single instance, unless in the defeat of the candidates to which they gave their preference.

The Abolitionists censured the two candidates for Governor in Maine. Kent rather coaxed them; Fairchild sent them off with a fee in their ears. Fairchild was elected by a majority of 3000 or 4000. A year before, Kent was elected.

The Abolitionists were particularly friendly to Gen. Rutherford, of Pennsylvania. He lost his election by about 9,000 votes.

The Abolitionists in the 5th Congressional district of Vermont, were opposed to Fletcher, the Van Buren candidate, and favored his opponent, who had courted their approbation. Fletcher was elected by about the same majority as he had two years before.

The Abolitionists befriended Mr. Slade, of the 2d district of Vermont, and *mirabile dictu*, he was elected, though by a reduced majority, when we take into consideration the fact that in 1836 there were two Whig candidates.

The Abolitionists are like bottles nearly empty—what they lack in quantity, they make up in mass.

As the Abolitionists have entered the field of politics, and sent clerical and other missionaries about the country to tell men how to vote, they must not think it strange if they now and then get their black coats rolled in the dirt. We are glad to see them on this ground, as we think it considerably more beneficial the warfare which they wish to carry on, than the pulpit. Leaving sacred place, we say, to the preaching of the Gospel, and let political wrangling settle in its appropriate channels. It is a pity it had not found its level sooner.

P. S. Since writing the above, we have met with the following in the Madisonian. We do not mean to deny that the Abolitionists generally raised the Van Buren ticket,—we always expected they would,—but we have a very different idea of their importance at the ballot boxes from that which is intimated below:

(See The Liberator and Abolitionists in this State.)

The Abolitionists are to be blamed for their having almost to a man, voted for U. S. Senators, can probably explain how this has been done. There are probably 10,000 Abolitionists in the State, and as they have gone against him, he is defeated.

The Postscript appealed to the foregoing article, a complete refutation of the assertions of the Abolitionists.

Mr. Phillips spoke on the same subject, earnestly, gracefully, and fluently. He said the numerous newspaper paragraphs in praise of Texian bravery, indicated a strong party in the South and West favorable to annexation. He thought the silence of our enemies was most ominous;—it only proved that they were busily and insidiously resorting to cunning, as far more effective than open force. They wished to lull us asleep with the belief that we were conquerors; and if we were not vigilant, the sword would be taken from our sleeping hands, and the standard stolen from our very tent. He thought the fellowship, co-operation, and complimentary intercourse between the ambassadors of the United States and agents who are seeking to be acknowledged as ministers from Texas in



VOL. VIII.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

A. S. CONVENTION AT NORTHAMPTON. We are indebted to a highly esteemed abolition friend in Northampton, for the following interesting sketch of the speeches delivered at the late Anti-Slavery Convention in that place. Since that meeting was held, the Washington Globe has stated that the Texan Minister, in a note to the Acting Secretary of State, declares that inasmuch as the impression appeared still to remain upon the public mind in the United States and Texas, that the proposition for the annexation of Texas was still pending, he has been instructed by his Government to communicate to that of the United States its formal and absolute withdrawal of that position. See what 'fanaticism' has accomplished!

The Anti-Slavery Convention here, was considered a highly respectable and interesting meeting. To me, who am accustomed to a warmer abolition atmosphere, it seemed deficient in zeal; but enthusiasm, upon any subject, does not characterize the valley of the Connecticut. I believe a large proportion of the inhabitants regard slavery with conscientious abhorrence; they would far more readily believe that our zeal against slavery was but a temporary excitement, which would soon subside into drawing indifference.

Mr. Phillips said the Free States had never yet triumphed over the policy of the South on the floor of Congress; and that was in preventing the admission of Texas into the Union. If the South saw us easily put off our guard in this matter, if they saw our vigilance relax, they would far more readily believe that our zeal against slavery was but a temporary excitement, which would soon subside into drawing indifference.

In the evening, Mr. Phillips spoke impressively concerning the charge of being too zealous. He said we pleaded thus earnestly for the slave, because everybody else forgot him. The Missionary Society, the Bible Society, the Education Society, all forgot him &c. &c.

The Rev. Mr. Lusk of Williamsburg, spoke somewhat plainly concerning the dullness and indifference of the clergy, particularly in the valley of the Connecticut. After describing how many of them began 'with one consent to make excuse,' he happened to say, 'I told brother Mitchell so and so.' I was sorry for this; for all that he had previously said of a time-serving clergy was forthwith supposed to be intended as a description of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Northampton. Satires, or stern truths, are well received when the object of them lives in another State, or across the mighty waters; but you know how people start up, and say, 'I don't like to hear my minister attacked.' There was, as I supposed there would be, a good deal of this spirit aroused.

The Northampton Courier passed so ne'er severe strictures upon Mr. Lusk; and even went so far as to blame one of Mr. Mitchell's deacons, who was present, because he did not get up and defend his minister. I thought this was a hard case. The deacon who is one of those good and upright men, 'of whom the world is not worthy,' is a conscientious abolitionist, and never has any hesitation in avowing the fact; yet he always, in public and private, speaks kindly and respectfully of his minister, and never gives utterance to any regret that he throws obstructions in the way of Anti-Slavery. One would think he could not be required to do more than this. And if he had felt bound to make a defense, what could he say? Should he say that he believed his minister was a very pious man, that he was much beloved by his parishioners, and respected by his fellow-citizens? Mr. Lusk had said nothing to the contrary of all this—he had merely mentioned Mr. Mitchell, while describing the clergy who opposed anti-slavery movements; an association of ideas extremely natural, considering the Rev. gentleman's own sermons, and avowed opinions. Should the deacon apologize for his minister, by saying he abhorred slavery in the abstract?

The Rev. Mr. Mitchell is an independent man, above being bound by such considerations. His opposition to the abolitionists originates in his *esprit du corps* as a clergyman. He thinks it disorderly to have laymen reproving the church. Now, whether either of these motives has any weight with Mr. Mitchell, is known only to God and his own conscience. Mr. Lusk made no allusion to motives; and what was not said, could not of course be contradicted.

Beriah Green made an excellent speech, somewhat metaphysical, according to the usual habit of his mind. He described an unprincipled man as one who acknowledged great principles, but would not embody them in practice. The very set in the streets would feel insulted if you tried to prove to him that the great principles of humanity were abstractly true. He said the passage, 'I was hungry, and ye fed me not, naked, and ye clothed me not,' was an exact description of the non-committal men.

They would be condemned for the things they did not. He perfectly described a class of farmers, who said, 'I admire the principles of agriculture; but the measures, this digging, and delving, and sweating, I cannot approve.' Truly, would they not get in a *crop in the abstract*?

If men were hired to work six months in the abstract, ought they not to be paid in the abstract, and eat in the abstract? He proposed to apply this rule to such of the clergy as revered great principles in the abstract.

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Mr. Root read some very interesting letters from missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, who are becoming interested in the anti-slavery cause. He said a good deal about how it grieved him to hear his brother ministers rebuked, and how sorry he felt that many of them deserved it. I thought he went rather out of his way to say that he did not approve of all that appeared in the Liberator; a doctrine not mentioned at all in this region. Luckily, no one thought it necessary to meddle with this apple of discord.

I regretted that during the Convention so little was said concerning the *first principles* of our cause. Our lectures take it too much for granted that their audience are all abolitionists. They forget that there is much ignorance to be enlightened, many honest simple souls to be educated. This is a very natural error in the present advanced state of the cause; but amid triumphant eloquence and undeniably argument, memory glances back upon our early meetings, and my heart does yearn for those frequent expressions of humble religious trust, those fervent appeals in behalf of down-trodden humanity, those earnest exhortations to all the human family, those children of One Father, not to turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of our injured and insulted brother.

foreign courts, indicated too much sympathy between our government and the Valley of Rascals. If it were not so, why is Mr. Poinsett appointed Secretary of War, when the only difficulties likely to occupy the attention of that department are our relations with Mexico and the Indians? Were not the government fully aware that the ruling idea of Mr. Poinsett's whole life, the predominant end and aim of his political existence, was the annexation of Texas to the United States?

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Public notice was given, that on the next Monday, another meeting would be held at the same place, and an address delivered. Some members of the Society thought it inadvisable

COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

NO. 44.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1833.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.

Dorchester, October 22d, 1833.

FRIEND GARRISON:

As Mr. 'Up to the Mark' in your last number considers Hon. A. H. Everett a doubtful advocate for the slave and the rights of man, by publishing the enclosed correspondence, it may serve, in a measure, to dispel the doubt of your correspondent alluded to, and also of many others, who are in the dark, relative to Mr. Everett's views on slavery. I will say, I am personally acquainted with Mr. Everett, and with his views on the great and commanding topics connected with the inalienable, moral and political rights of all men, and am sure Mr. Everett will be 'up to the mark.'

Yours, dear sir, unalterably for the slave.

ORIN P. BACON.

Following was Mr. Everett's answer to certain anti-slavery letters, last year, in reply to certain anti-slavery interrogations, &c.]

ROXBURY, NOV. 3, 1837.

DEAR SIR.—I received your letter of the 25th ult. in due course of mail, but was prevented by an engagement which called me from home for a few days, from replying to it before.

The period, immediately preceding a contested election, is less favorable than some others for an unbiased expression of opinion; and I might, perhaps without impropriety, refer to my views on the subject of slavery, to my published writings. I have on several occasions, not connected with the political affairs of the day, distinctly stated my conviction of the essential injustice of slavery, and my belief, founded in part on historical evidence, of the natural equality of the colored race with our own.

## POLITICAL.

POLITICS IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
As specimens of the manner in which the sacred cause of inalienable human rights (irrespective of the complexion of a man) has been handled by the two great political parties in Pennsylvania, we present to our readers the following extracts—merely premising that the Harrisburg Keystone is professedly a flaming democratic paper, and yet is one of the most brutal, ferocious and merciless enemies of the colored race, to be found in this despotic republic. It exults at the administration of Lynch law to the abolitionists, and is, of course, an ardent supporter of the Colonization Society. Now for a sample of its democracy!

ABOLITIONISM.—The proof that Joseph Ritner is an abolitionist, and that he has but lent his influence to carry out its principles, and further its objects, is so perfectly clear and conclusive, that we do not believe any honest, unprejudiced man doubts the fact. Let no man who now votes for Ritner in the face of this proof, hereafter pretend to be opposed to abolitionism, for even his neighbors will not believe him. His inconsistency and hypocrisy will be too glaring.—*Harrisburg Keystone.*

From the same paper:

## ABOLITIONISM.

The friends and promoters of this incendiary doctrine, and its disgusting and dangerous consequences, have met with a signal and severe rebuke in the late election in our State. Gov. Ritner, a known abolitionist, having, as it were by stealth, crept into the executive chair—Pennsylvania was made the battle ground, on which they intended to fight the democracy of the Union, and the theatre of their disorganizing operations. Although very few in number, yet, leagued with other factions and parties, equally unprincipled, they hoped to succeed. Gov. Ritner was so much their tool, as to aid them in ALL their measures, forward ALL their plans, and yet, for political purposes, kept aloof from their OPEN operations, and DEXID that he was one of them. This base act did not succeed, as we proved by unquestioned testimony, that he had not only embraced their views, but expected by his alliance with them, to receive their support for re-election, which, added to his other strength gained by no less dishonorable means, would enable him to triumph over that democratic party, which he had, after many favors received, so basely deserted and so ungratefully sought to destroy.

The friends of the UNION—the friends of good order—and all those opposed to the demoralizing and disgusting tenets of abolitionism, both in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, have great cause for gratitude and rejoicing, at the noble stand which the Keystone State has taken in this matter, and the victory which her unconquerable democracy has obtained. We have shown to our southern brethren that Pennsylvania can never be bowed to the dark spirit of abolitionism—that she will stand fast by the sacred compact made by our fathers, and never endorse the doctrine of Garrison or Thaddeus Stevens, as to its being either void or contrary to the Declaration of Independence. Abolitionism, as connected with and sustained by the government, will be no more known in Pennsylvania for 20 years at least.—*Keystone.*

Again:

## DEMOCRATS ATTEND.

The democratic citizens of Dauphin county are requested to meet at the Exchange, in Walnut street, on Saturday evening next, at 7 o'clock, to make arrangements for a proper celebration of the glorious victory achieved by the democracy of the Keystone State, over the combined forces of Federalism, Bankism, Abolitionism, Anti-slavery and Whiggery—and to do such other business as may be brought before the meeting.

MANY.

□ The following appears to be from the pen of a dough-face go-between. Of the perspicuity of its style, and the force of its logic, we shall say nothing.

From the Lebanon Morgenstern.

The friends of Porter, instead of keeping their eyes on the main principles of the opposition party, charge Ritner with being an abolitionist. Abolitionism has taken a technical meaning, and by it is now understood the entire abolition of slavery in the South, putting the blacks on an equality with the whites, in the enjoyment of civil and social privileges, if not the amalgamation of blacks and whites. Justice demands that the charge against Ritner should be contradicted. It could never be proved, and to say the least of it, it is a shameful calumny to deceive the people, and those who let themselves be prejudiced by it, are certainly deceived. There falls unaccountable guilt on those who make slavery a political question. Instead that Ritner should be made to feel the displeasure of our citizens, the just displeasure should fall upon the heads of those who make it a political matter, to excite the mind of the public on this sensitive and danger-threatening subject.

Who does not remember the many frightful scenes and mobs which the slave question has already brought on in this peaceful land? And what can be done to increase this furious spirit, until it at last makes this whole union a desolate stage, than to make slavery a political hobby? Let the public reflect upon this important subject, and examine whether it is right, or whether a party is not highly censurable for being so inconsiderate as to make slavery a political question. The Ritner party, (although we do not sanction their main principles,) certainly deserve more credit for their course, than the Portertes. The former have shown and expressed a desire to leave the slave question out of politics, whereas the latter have in almost every proceeding of their meetings raised the unreasonable cry of 'abolitionism,' 'slavery,' 'black and white,' &c. &c.

□ A whig paper thus shows up the hypocrisy of an opponent:

The Sentinel says, if Mr. White, the Loco-foco candidate in a western district in this state, is an abolitionist, he will be defeated. We look for that, but his defeat will not be a consequence of his abolitionism, but of his loco-focoism. Every Van Buren man, every treasury advocate in the district, will vote for him, knowing him to be an abolitionist, as they nominated him with the same knowledge. They knew that he was a delegate to the Harrisburg abolition convention, and signed the papers and documents of the abolitionists, and returned to his constituents laden with the honors of abolitionism, and received as a reward a nomination to Congress.

We refer to this matter, not to censure or applaud, but to demonstrate to our readers how hollow-hearted, how hypocritical is the loco-foco cant about abolitionism. They will pelt Governor Ritner with every species of offensive missiles, because like a Franklin and a Rawle, he is opposed to slavery; but when it meets their purpose, they will select a man as their own candidate for an office, who is foremost among the ultras of abolitionism; and what is more, they will nominate him for Congress, where, if any where, abolition principles may be made operative upon the affairs of the Union.

Van Buren has become such an amalgamation of opposites, that it stinks in the nostrils of decent people.—*U. S. Gazette.*

Here is another whig thrust:

The Republican seems to have a great horror of abolition, although but two years ago their

taste for amalgamation was so strong, that one of the writers for that paper said that if it were the custom in this part of the country, he would have no objection to take a *darkie* to his bosom—such as Col. R. M. Johnson took to his. This is a fact which many of the readers of the Republican may recollect. That paper was then apologizing for the Colonel's *dark taste*, in order to reconcile the people to it. The Republicans could then excuse Dick's disgusting amalgamation, and swallow it with right good will; but now it strains and stretches wofully at abolition! Dick, with his thick-lipped negro and mulatto family, was quite a sweet fellow with our friend Price, who, now-a-days, appears ready to mob and lynch any one even suspected of abolition. For ourselves, we are opposed to all amalgamators, whether they be Dick Johnsons or individuals of less distinction—call them abolitionists or anti-abolitionists.—*Westchester Register.*

But the following caps the climax, by way of showing up the political hypocrisy of such papers as the *Keystone*, on the subject of amalgamation:

## ABOLITION—PRECEPT &amp; PRACTICE.

The Loco Focos were so fearful that the display of the friends of Ritner, who poured in from the country on Saturday last, would produce desertions from their ranks, that in the evening they made a desperate attempt to muster their forces. Accordingly, as soon as the darkness rendered it impossible to distinguish colors with our scrutiny, they began to collect their followers at Prince's by blowing in horns, ringing bells, huzzing and hallooing, and afterwards formed a procession through the streets, making as much noise as a body of savages going to battle.

In their exertions to get up a large procession, they mustered into their ranks black and white, young and old. 'Judith's town' was ransacked, and all the negroes that they could muster in the borough, were formed into their ranks, and made to swell the procession opposite to abolition!

We were not in town, but we are informed by several gentlemen of respectability who saw the procession, that a large proportion of it was made up of negroes, and a still larger one of boys of all colors and sizes. So much for the PRECEPT and PRACTICE of the Loco Focos respecting abolition.

□ The organ of American Democracy ('') thus exhibits, in view of the defeat of the noble Ritner, who refused to 'bow the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery.'

The Washington Globe under date of the 21st Oct. says: 'The papers at the South properly appreciate the efforts of the Democracy of Pennsylvania to extinguish the firebrand of abolition in the great Keystone State.'

POLITICAL ABOLITIONISTS. They are more competent to cause failure and create confusion among the party which coquets with them, than to injure that party against which they are in hostile array. Like the attendants on an Asiatic army, they swell its numbers, but give no aid in battle, and only increase the confusion and disasters of defeat.—*Colonization Herald.*

□ What says the election in Ohio on this subject? Only a transfer of 10,000 abolition votes from one side to the other! That's all!

SEIZURE OF REV. MR. MAHAN.

The Philanthropist published a correct copy of the demand of the Governor of Kentucky for the body of Rev. Mr. Mahan. It is as follows:

To His Excellency the Governor of the State of Ohio. Whereas it has been represented, by the affidavit of William Greathouse, that John B. Mahan stands charged by two indictments in the Middle circuit court of this State, in aiding and assisting certain slaves, the escape of the said William Greathouse, to their escape from the possession of him, and the said William Greathouse, And wherein information has been received at the Executive Department of this State, that the said John B. Mahan HAS FILED FROM JUSTICE, AND IS NOW GOING TO LARGE IN THE STATE OF OHIO; and it being important and highly necessary for the good of society that the perpetrators of such offenses should be brought to justice. Now, therefore, I,

JAMES CLARK, Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the laws and constitution of the United States, and of these AS A FIFTH FROM THE JUSTICE OF THE LAWS OF THIS STATE, and make known to you, that I have appointed David Wood my agent to receive said fugitive, and bring him to this State, having jurisdiction of the said offence, that he may be tried by his trial for the crime with which he stands charged.

In compliance with the requisitions, I herewith annex and submit to your Excellency a copy of the indentures upon which this demand is founded, which I certify is authentic.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Commonwealth of Kentucky to be affixed at Frankfort, the 28th of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and in the forty-seventh year of the Commonwealth.

By the Governor. JAS. CLARK.

J. M. BELLOWS, Secretary of State.

Copies of the two indictments.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, etc.

The Grand Juries empanelled and sworn for the body of the Mason Circuit, at a court begun and held in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, at the court-house of Mason county in the town of Washington—in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth, upon their oaths present: That JOHN B. MAHAN, Gentleman, on the nineteenth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, AT THE COUNTY OF MASON before me, aid and abetted, did aid and assist a certain slave named John, the property of one William Greathouse, then and there in the said county of Mason being, to make his escape from the possession of the said William Greathouse, and to escape to the State of Ohio, and out of and beyond the State of Kentucky, he, the said John B. Mahan, not having lawful or valid color of title to the said slave John, the property of the said William Greathouse aforementioned; contray to the statute in that case made and provided, and against the statute, in and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

(A copy.) ATTORNEY FOR THE COMMONWEALTH MARSHALL KEY, Clerk.

The Grand Juries empanelled and sworn for the body of the Mason Circuit, at a court begun and held in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, at the court-house of Mason county in the town of Washington—in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth, upon their oaths present: That JOHN B. MAHAN, Gentleman, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1838, AT THE COUNTY OF MASON aforesaid, aid and abetted, a certain slave named Nelson, the property of one William Greathouse, then and there in the said county of Mason being, to make his escape from the possession of the said William Greathouse, and to escape to the State of Ohio, and out of and beyond the State of Kentucky, he, the said John B. Mahan, not having lawful or valid color of title to the said slave Nelson, the property of the said William Greathouse aforementioned; contray to the statute in that case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

THOMAS Y. PAYNE, Attorney for the Commonwealth MARSHALL KEY, Clerk.

The Grand Juries empanelled and sworn for the body of the Mason Circuit, at a court begun and held in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, at the court-house of Mason county in the town of Washington—in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth, upon their oaths present: That JOHN B. MAHAN, Gentleman, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1838, AT THE COUNTY OF MASON aforesaid, aid and abetted, a certain slave named Nelson, the property of one William Greathouse, then and there in the said county of Mason being, to make his escape from the possession of the said William Greathouse, and to escape to the State of Ohio, and out of and beyond the State of Kentucky, he, the said John B. Mahan, not having lawful or valid color of title to the said slave Nelson, the property of the said William Greathouse aforementioned; contray to the statute in that case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

(A copy.) ATTORNEY FOR THE COMMONWEALTH MARSHALL KEY, Clerk.

The last number of the Philanthropist brings us the following distressing information. What must be the feelings of the wife and family of that innocent man, the victim of slavery!

MAHAN IN IRONS.

What will the people of Ohio think, when they are told that the unfortunate Mahan is in irons? A minister went over the other day to visit him, and found him with a chain round each ankle, and another connecting them. Irons on a citizen of Ohio! What a pity! What say our fellow citizens? Have they any regard for the sovereignty of their State? They say that he was a slave, just because he chose to obey the law of God.

THE REAL QUESTION.

In the Liberator of October 19, is an article from the Boston Quarterly Review for October, which requires notice. With its calumnies I have no concern; and its envenomed falsehoods confute themselves, and therefore carry their own antidote. For when the author says—in the estimation of abolitionists, 'opposition to free discussion is the free expression of our honest convictions against abolition proceedings,' he knows that he wilfully misrepresents the whole matter; unless he means by 'free expression,' lynching, scourging, house-robbing, desecration of churches, the burning of halls, and the murder of preachers. But if Mr. Brownson includes that system of argumentation in his 'free discussion,' then he gives us a new nomenclature, otherwise his language is very 'teatrical.'

Excluding, however, all reference to his untrue assertions, I propose to notice one of his whigs.

The real question at issue is—Have the citizens of the non-slaveholding States the right to set on foot a

## COMMUNICATIONS.

## TO THE AUTHOR OF 'THE TOCSIN.'

Your letter in the Liberator of October 19, it seems to me, does not advert to the true and only question which is involved in Mr. Clapp's officiating in your house of worship. It is not a theme of investigation concerning free discussion, or christian liberty, or a willingness to exemplify enlarged scruples into recognition or controverted theology, or the duty of taking hold to what we hear; but there is a decisive criterion of christian morals comprised in the principle respecting the admission of slaveholders and their advocates, and therefore their accomplices in iniquity, to rank as disciples of Jesus, and preachers of the gospel of equity and peace. Your own observations, during your residence at the South, must have convinced you that the whole system of slavery is utterly irreconcileable with charity and humanity, and, of course, contrary to 'pure religion and undefiled.'

Ample testimony has been furnished at the various meetings of the anti-slavery brethren, when you have been present, that the christian churches are the strong hold of slavery; and that the sanction given to slave-driving and slave-brokers preachers and professors, by the northern christians and ministers, is the deadly narcotic through the influence of which the oppressors, who call themselves followers of Jesus, chant the fatal lullaby, and sleep the sleep of death.

It seems now to be the undisputed decision of all abolitionists, that nothing can efficaciously counteract the predominance of slavery, until the whole body of christians north of the Potowmack and the Ohio resolve to commence the work of emancipating slaves.

States have not the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

2. Affirmatively. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

3. Negatively. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

4. Practically. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

5. Legally. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

6. Morally. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

7. Ethically. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

8. Scripturally. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right to commence and prosecute a series of operations for the accomplishment of an object, which is contrary to the will of God expressly declared, and the rights of man.

9. Canonically. The citizens of the non-slaveholding States have the right to set on foot, no matter what measures, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves—that is, they have not the right to set on foot kidnapping, village-destroying, transporting American citizens in ships and selling them in Africa, or the wholesale butchery of the slaveholders, for the sake of emancipating the slaves.

They have not the right

## ELECTION IN MIDDLESEX.

By the following correspondence, it will be seen that of the candidates for the State Senate, in Middlesex County, whose letters are given below, has received an answer that can be at all satisfactory to the constituents of that county. They are all indefinite, ambiguous, and evasive.

Believing that, however diversified the opinions of the community in New England may be, on the best means of ridding our country of a present evil, there is, and can be but one voice as to preventing its extension, I answer unqualifiedly—*Yes*.

Very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
**THOMAS J. GREENWOOD.**

WOBBURN, Oct. 17, 1838.

## ELECTION IN NEW YORK.

**Dr. Amos Farnsworth:**—Your letter of the 10th instant, was duly received. I must apologize for not answering it sooner—my absence from home, and the importance of the enquiries, must be my excuse. I would respectfully say in reply, that I am not altogether prepared to answer fully, the questions therein propounded. This much I am prepared to say to you, viz. that I am opposed to slavery; and should be in favor of using all proper and constitutional means for its abolition.

I am, sir, with great respect.  
Your very obedient servant,  
**BOWEN BUCKMAN.**

LOWELL, Oct. 23, 1838.

**DEAR SIR,**—Your letter, proposing certain interrogatories to me on the subject of slavery, was duly received. I have changed none of the opinions formerly expressed by me on that subject when member of the legislature.—With my course there, I believe you are well acquainted. I am opposed to slavery, in whatever form it may exist, and in favor of all constitutional measures, consistent with the welfare of the community, for its abolition, and for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Very respectfully,  
Yours, &c.,  
**J. W. MANSUR.**

EAST CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 16, 1838.

**Dr. Amos Farnsworth.**

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of 10th inst. making certain inquiries of me in relation to domestic slavery, did not, from accident, come to hand until some days after its date.

My course in Congress on the questions connected with the subject of slavery, is a matter of public record. I have considered it my duty, at all times, to sustain the right of petition, and a direct appeal of candidates for office their opinions on all important subjects of a political character, it might subject them to inquisition almost endless, and so vexatious, as to render the suffrages of the people hardly a matter to be coveted. Besides, in my own case, I could not be induced to purchase the vote of my fellow-citizens by pledges of any kind.

In perfect consistency, however, with that resolution, I can say, with regard to the subject of your communication, that I am an advocate for the freedom of the whole human family, for universal liberty with law; I am, accordingly, tenacious of my own personal freedom. But, with reference to the particular advanced forms in which I might see fit to propose, according to my small ability, to any cause or interest of the cause of emancipation in the United States, by legislative or executive resolutions, or enactments, (should I be elected as a representative on the subject,) I do not give any promises. I am too hearty a lover of liberty, to place myself in such bonds as to go into any legislative body, or organized society, fettered and handcuffed, instead of being free to act with the deliberation which the occasion may require, and to avail myself of the right which interchange of opinions may produce.

Respectfully and truly yours,  
**WM. PARMENTER.**

Dr. Amos Farnsworth.

OVERLAND, MASSACHUSETTS!

**FRIEND GARRISON:** Our eyes are now turned longingly towards old Massachusetts. Will she not send true-hearted men to the next Congress, who will open their mounds for the dumb? With one or two exceptions, she has heretofore been represented by negatives. The crisis demands positives. In this State, under our plurality system, we are borne down by the superiority of the contending parties. Our scattered votes exert only a moral influence. In your State, with its majority system, minorities have great power, and every scattered vote exerts a direct numerical influence. Will your abolitionists throw away their votes on negative men? The slaves of the District lift their manacled hands to you, and cry for relief. You have the power to aid them. "You can if you will." Let the old Pilgrim State be true to herself this once. You struggled nobly for freedom and the right of petition, and have won them. Aim higher. Contend for the whole man." Send men who will talk and act for immediatism. Vermont has given us two true men—Pennsylvania four or five—Ohio three or four—and New York will send five or six. All these are thorough, heartily immediatists. Now for the Bay State! She must be the pioneer, and lead the van. Elect men who will go to Stade measures—for Morris projects. Don't be content with right-of-petition men. You won that battle two years ago. The members from Essex South, Essex North, Middlesex, Norfolk, Bristol, Barnstable, Worcester, Hampshire, and Franklin counties, are yours, if you will stretch out your hands to take them. Shall Massachusetts stand erect no longer?

**NEW YORK.**

STATE ELECTION.  
Second Monday in November.

Whigs. Democrats.

FOR GOVERNOR  
EDWARD EVERETT. MARCUS MORTON.

LT. GOVERNOR.  
George Hull.

Congress.  
Richard Fletcher,  
Leverett Saltonstall,  
Caleb Cushing,  
Nathan Brooks,  
Levi Lincoln,  
John A. Alford,  
George N. Briggs,  
Wm. B. Calhoun,  
Wm. S. Hastings,  
Nath'l B. Borden,  
John Reed,  
John Q. Adams.

STATE SENATORS.  
Suffolk County.  
Sam'l T. Armstrong,  
George Blake,  
Josiah Quincy, Jr.,  
Nathan Gurley,  
George Morey,  
Charles Lenahan.

Middlesex County.  
Sidney Willard,  
Stuart J. Park,  
Lydia Eaton,  
Sam'l. Walcott,  
Sam'l. Chandler.

Hampshire County.  
George Ashmun,  
Reuben Bowes.

Norfolk County.  
Benj' P. Williams,  
Benj' V. French,  
Ass't Pickering.

Bernardston County.  
Jesse Boyden.

Bristol County.  
Lemuel May,  
John Edy.

Berkshire County.  
Lester Filley,  
Stephen Brown.

Essex County.  
John Spurr,  
Sullivan Sumner,  
Nathaniel Wood,  
Charles Shibley,  
Jedediah Marcy,  
James Allen.

Montgomery County.  
John C. Smith,  
Wm. Hancock,  
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## LITERARY.

For the Liberator.  
Lines written on reading the Constitution of the New-England Non-Resistance Society.

## THE LAW OF LOVE.

Hail! all unchanging, heaven-born Love,  
We may not tell thy power;  
Thy height, thy depth, blest scraps about  
In Eden's blissful bower.

More potent thou, than conqueror's sword,  
On the red battle-field;  
More mighty than the dagger's point,  
Which vile assassins wield.

Clothed in Love's pure panoply,  
From heaven on earth's begun;—  
'Tis not frail mortal's will, oh God,  
But thine, be ever done!

Father above! this little hand  
To thee commit their all—

Who heareth the young raven's cry,  
Heedeth each sparrow's fall.

And thine grant to be their shield—  
Oh! keep them safe from harm;  
Guide by thy own unerring light;  
And fold them in thine arm.

Worldlings on them will wag their heads,  
With many a heartless jeer,

And e'en thy high professed ones  
Will turn with bitter sneer.

But do thou, Lord of love, forgive—  
*'They know not what they do.'*

Create in them a heart's clean,  
Their spirit, O renew!

Grant they may know the love is not  
An alphabetic cred,—

That not for sect, or caste, or clime,  
Did Christ the Saviour bleed.

Vengeance alone to Him belongs,  
Who did for sinners die;

He who each thought, *sous every heart*,  
With an impartial eye.

Hasten the time, Father in heaven,  
When all on earth shall see

Each spear bent to a pruning-hook,  
Each sword a plough-share.

Lynn, Oct. 15, 1838.

## MAGDALENE.

## For the Liberator.

## LINES.

Suggested while looking at the picture of the kneeling slave, with the motto, 'Am I not a woman and a sister?' after hearing it said that there was as much difference in the intellect of the white and the negro, as in the hue of their complexion.

## BY A FREE WHITE WOMAN.

Thou art our sister! though in chains, and humbled to the dust,

Thou art our sister before Him, th' almighty and all-just,

Who wrote upon thy stricken brow and sorrow-darkened eye,

A infarne for a soul, a soul that cannot die.'

And thou and we will trust in Him, that he will make us strong

To break the grievous fetters, that have bowed thee down so long.

Wait thou with patient charity, long-suffering, yet kind,

And we will pray most fervently, that to our heart and mind,

The wisdom and the grace be given to speak the truth in love,

And pure, as it is hymned forth from angel-thrones above;

Till thine oppressor's heart shall raise the penitential prayer,

And thou, our sister, shalt be free, as the pure, blessed air —

Then shall be joy in heaven o'er him, and peace on earth for thee;

And the wide universe shall ring with songs of jubiles.

M. R. J.

## For the Liberator.

## MODERN CHIVALRY—CHEROKEES.

No hope remains for them, their hope should not be in the land of the brave, and the home of the free.'

For bravery plainly personified stands,

In the valorous conquest of Indians lands!

And, (most singular fact,) Freedom could not endure,

Unless the rebels ever made it secure!

It is chivalry calls us, nor will we deny

Its just claims by refusing a speedy reply;

But will gallantly choking our scruples and fears,

Boily march 'to the rescue,' as brave volunteers;

Nor suffer a heathenish host of red faces

To keep worth and enterprise out of their places.

Our duty is plain—fir, 'as true as The Book,'

'On the things of others,' we're counseled to look!

And these savages even, make ready confession,

That 'the heathen' are given to Christian possession!

The treaty, (prepared as such treaties should be.)

On our wisdom was founded, and they must agree!

And the treaty is fair, (let those laugh who win!)

We, agreeably to Scripture, the stranger take in!

And, of course, there cannot be a shadow of doubt,

That 'tis equally proper to take strangers out!

And if they perverely refuse to come;

Why, they know the decision—surendre or die!

Our kindness and sympathy sure they should praise,

And how low to our mercy the rest of their days!

(Deep regret in the forest their obstatine course,

Remember their punishment might have been worse!)

For we're strangely permitting them all to go free,

When, in equity, our servants might be!

Kind Providence, filling with mercies the day,

Gives their persons and property to us a prey!—

We, grateful, return the first mentioned to Heaven!

Sufficient for us the et cetera given!

And though xantus fanaticus condemn our measures,

(Because they're unable to reach our treasures.)

Yet the Indian country, estranged from our foes,

We believe shall yet 'blossom and bud as the rose.'

Our plantations unnumbered, shall stand in review,

Blessed with sermons by thousands our wishes to do!

The like Garrison party shall sink into shame.—

Golden years in reserve shall cast down the foul name!

And we'll find them in halors? yet, give them a grave,

In the 'house of the free, and the land of the brave'!!

C. GREENE.

Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1838.

## A CHILD'S FIRST IMPRESSION OF A STAR.

BY JOHN M'DERMOTT, ESQ.

She had been told that God made all the stars

That twinkled up in heaven; and now she stood

Watching the coming of the twilight on,

If it were a new and perfect world,

And this were its first eye. How beautiful

Must the work of Nature to a child

In its first fresh impression! Laura stood

By the low window, with the silken lash

Of her soft eye upraised, and her sweet mouth

Half parted with the now and strange delight

Of beauty that she could not comprehend,

And had no eyes before. The purple folds

Of the low sunset clouds, and the blue sky,

That looked so still and delicate above,

Filled her young heart with gladness; and the eye

Stole on with its deep shadows. Laura still

Stood looking at the west with the now and half smile,

As if a pleasant thought were at her heart.

Presently, in the edge of the last tint

Of sunset, where the blue was melted in

To the faint golden mellowness, a star

Popped suddenly. A laugh of wild delight

Burst from her lips, and putting up her hands,

Her simple thoughts broke forth exuberantly,

'Father, dear father! God has made a Star!'

## INSCRIPTION FOR A DIAL.

Time flies; it is his melancholy task

To bring, and bear away, delusive hopes,

And reproduce the trouble he destroys.

But, while his blindness thus is occupied,

Discerning mortal! do thou serve the will

Of Time's Eternal Master, and that peace'

What the world wants, shall be for them confirmed.

## NON-RESISTANCE.

## REPORT

ON THE TENDENCY AND EFFECTS OF THE PACIFIC PRINCIPLE.  
[Made at the late Peace Convention in Boston.]

The committee appointed to report on the tendency and effects of the pacific principle, believe that the subject before them is comprised in the following question: *Has this principle, when carried out agreeably to the precepts and example of Christ, a natural tendency to secure, and would it result in the general safety and happiness of mankind?*

In order to arrive at the truth on this subject, we have deemed it important to consider this question both in a speculative and practical light. It has seemed to us, that some abstract reasoning, a priori, or from the nature of the subject, would reflect light upon the arguments which may be deduced from facts.

That the spirit of love and good will, and the practice of christian kindness, forbearance, and beneficence, have a natural tendency to allay anger, to overcome the evil and unfriendly passions and designs of mankind, and to secure a return of friendship, is intuitively evident. To deny this fact would be to deny self-evident truth, and one of the plainest dictates of common sense. Solomon lays down the grand abstract principle, which holds good in all ages and places: *A man that hath friends, must show himself friendly.* Agreeably to this, the poet also says,

'Love, and love only, is the loan for love.'

All like purchase, few the price will pay;

And this makes friends such miracles below.'

The apostle assures us, also, that this friendly course is the effectual way to overcome our enemies. 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' When a man's ways please the Lord, he will let him go well away? Wherefore the Lord reward thee good, for that thou hast done unto me this day.'

In process of time, Soul's anger, envy and persecuting spirit were again excited against David, and he went forth with his warriors to seek his life. But the Lord caused a deep sleep to come upon Saul and his men during one night, so that David and Abishai came into his camp unperceived, and took Saul's spear, and a cruse of water, but David insisted upon sparing Saul's life. In the morning, he made another appeal to the heart and conscience of Saul, which drew from him the following acknowledgement. 'Then said Saul, I have sinned: return, my son David: for I will no more do the like hereafter, because my soul was precious in thy eyes this day: behold I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly. Blessed be thou my son David; thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail: and Saul returned to his place.' We have no account of his further pursuing David. So completely did the clemency, kindness and forbearance of David disarm Saul from time to time of his anger and envy, and draw from him confessions of sorrow and shame. These examples on divine record, being the natural and legitimate effect of the pacific and kind course, afford a strong and conclusive argument in favor of the utility and expediency of perfectly following the precepts and example of Christ in respect to non-resistance, and overcoming evil with good.

Another way in which the pacific and friendly course tends to general safety and happiness, is by *allaying the anger, and overcoming the evil and unfriendly passions and designs of our enemies.* It secures fellowship with God, the cordial approbation of conscience, and consequently a high degree of hope and joy, which are a harvest of solid happiness, and highly favorable to health and prosperity. Where this pacific and friendly spirit prevails, it overcomes the spirit of selfishness, envy, malevolence, injustice and unrighteousness; and enables one to restrain his evil passions and propensities. Let a person form the habit of universal non-resistance towards injurers, and of overcoming evil with good, and this habit becomes a shield and buckler against sin and temptation, and greatly augments his moral power to do good. On the contrary, the practices of litigation, or forcible self-defence, and of returning evil for evil and railing for railing, are replete with temptation and danger, and exert a very pernicious influence upon religion and morals, prosperity and happiness.

Another way in which this pacific course tends to individual and general safety and happiness, is by *securing the esteem, confidence, and gratitude and affection even of enemies.* We have an example of this in the case of Abigail, the wife of Nabal, who happily succeeded in turning away the fierce anger of David and his men of war, by a friendly present, and by the spirit of conciliation, kindness, concession, and persuasion. Says the sacred historian: 'Then Abigail made haste, and took two hundred loaves, and two bottles of wine, and five measures of parched corn, and a hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs. And she said unto her servants, Go on before me; and behold David and his men came down against her, and she met them.' After she had confessed the ingratitude of her husband, and made the proper acknowledgements, adapted to conciliate David and his men, she presented her gift, with a view to make the proper compensation and restitution. Then we are informed that David said to her, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which sent thee this day to meet me. And blessed be thy advice, and blessed be thou, which hast kept me this day from coming to shed blood, and from avenging myself with mine own hand. So David received of her hand that which she had brought him, and said unto her, Go up in peace to thy house; see, I have hearkened to thy voice.' In this way did this heroine preserve her own life, and the lives of all that pertained to her numerous household, at a time when an armed company, breathing vengeance upon all that belonged to Nabal, were on their way to shed his blood and condign punishment upon him. Would not a sense of burning shame forbid A. to repeat his outrages and injuries against B.?

Another way in which the pacific and friendly course tends to general safety, prosperity and happiness, is by *securing the esteem, confidence, and gratitude and affection even of enemies.* Bad as the world is, respect is felt for the man who overcomes evil with good. We have a bright example of this happy effect of the pacific and friendly course, in the history of Wm. Penn and his colony. We will here copy a very brief sketch of this history, as we find it in Parley's first book of history. Revised Ed. p. 60.

In 1681, king Charles granted to him a large tract of land, now Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in the year of the same year a good many persons, chiefly Quakers, set out in three ships, and came to America, and settled near where Philadelphia now stands. These first settlers were mostly from England, and in the year of their arrival there were the great God had pleased to walk him concerning his people part of the world, and that the king of the country where he had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were men of the same disposition; and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides!

In the fall of 1682, Penn himself came to the colony with two thousand emigrants. While he was in the country, he met some of the Indian chiefs, and made a great impression on the savages. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted ears and hominy. In the year of his arrival